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JUSTICE • BROTHERHOOD • PEACE

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

THE aim of WORLD UNITY is to reflect the movement of the spirit of the age.

Under the impact of that movement, the conditions of human life have been transformed throughout the world. Ancient customs and habits of thought, long-established institutions, political and economic doctrines, religious beliefs—all have been subjected to a process of transmutation the final outcome of which is not yet discerned.

But it is now generally recognized that the present generation stands between two worlds—the past, in rapid disintegration, and the future, whose character and form imply at least a world order, a universal civilization, based upon conscious acceptance of the brotherhood of man.

To serve that fundamental moral principle of unity; to uphold the possibility of a new and greater era of human advance; to pass over mere rationalizations of former customs; to quicken the vital powers of faith and to give substance to confident hope—this is the effort of World Unity Magazine, an effort dependent upon the loyal support and goodwill of those who share the same conviction because they also have been touched by *the spirit of the age.*

World unity

WORLD UNITY PLAN

FOR SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

by

HORACE HOLLEY

"Unity is the source of order in the world."

SOME masterkey is necessary if the people of this generation are to pass to safety and assurance through the successive obstacles which now stand as locked gates marked *Religion, Education, Politics* and *Industry.*

Religion, Education, Politics and Industry are the designations of those interests, values and organizations by which society in all ages is enabled to produce external and visible projections of fundamental human powers and needs. Today they seem to tower overwhelmingly and threateningly above the feebleness of personal will and understanding. They seem fully externalized and independently existent. They exercise an apparently irresistible authority and influence upon the mass of individual men.

But Religion is the reflection of the human spirit; Education is the reflection of human understanding; Politics is the reflection of human will; and Industry is the reflection of human action. Titans though they seem, in their magnification of collective organization, in reality these titans have only the largeness of shadows projected from the substance; and the substance is the nature of man.

Man innately is religious; he projects his religiousness into social actions and forms. Man has innate capacity to understand; he projects this capacity into social actions and forms. Man has the function of will; he projects his will into the administration of government. Man is active; he organizes the function of action in terms of the professions and trades.

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In simple societies, man projects himself without such degree of delegation as to lose himself in the social action and form. His associations remain direct and personal. His experience retains self-control.

The complexity of modern society has led to such projection of the inner self that self has become abandoned. From subtle religious experience to simple daily action, people have no self-control; they are controlled by society; and society is so extensive a delegation of human powers and needs that society has ceased to be man in association with men. It tended, first, to be a reality apart from man—*non-man*; and once accepted as an independent reality, society asserted false authority the results of which are so inimicable to man that society today is actually *anti-man.*

Before this *anti-man,* man in fear or in insane admiration bows and worships as man has prostrated in worship before Moloch and myriad other destructive gods. Man cringes before society knowing that society can damn him, destroy him and torture him like a martyr in the flames; or can reward him, extol him and tender him such power as Satan promised to Jesus the Spirit of God.

Here is the masterkey which, unlike the technical programs of the economists and statesmen, unlock all four doors barring humanity out from the promised land of security, peace and the inspiring joys of brotherhood. *This "world crisis" is not a "disturbance" of society—it is a quickening of the soul of man.*

Quoting from an article written in September, 1931: "An adequate social diagnosis, one on which a permanent plan of betterment may be founded, can at this time scarcely afford to overlook these three essential facts:—

"*First,* that through their inability to establish real peace and their endorsement of universally destructive instruments of warfare, governments no longer protect life and property but, on the contrary, have become the chief sources of peril to mankind;

"*Second,* that as the result of the concentration of the means of production and distribution, without corresponding social

policy, industry and commerce no longer feed, clothe and shelter the people but, on the contrary, have increased the area and intensity of poverty and destitution; and

"*Third,* that through the diversity and strife of creeds, and their materialistic dependence upon civil authority to enforce moral principles, established religion no longer intensifies the inner life of man, relating people one to another in the spirit of cooperation and sincere consultation for mutual protection and general betterment but, on the contrary, poisons the very sources of loyalty and understanding and fans the flame of competition and dissension which, passing out from the church into life, sanctioned nationalism in the state and self-aggrandisement in business affairs."

Those who grant these premises are prepared to consider a plan of social reconstruction which begins at the psychological beginning: the regeneration of man's inner life; and stands resolutely apart from the vain hope that minor industrial and political improvements can effect a remedy of the existing world disease.

RELIGION

Man's dependence upon religious reality is today obscured and not indicated by the subservient relationship of church to state.

Religion, in fact, is the creative force through which societies come into being. Survey civilizations as they exist in the modern world, and one finds that they arose from Christ, from Muhammad, from Moses or some other prophet. The prophet, by inspiring faith in a decadent people, renewed the springs of the inner life and gave release to those innate powers of will and understanding which actually developed every culture and every area of social order.

But a religion dies in time as it is born in time. The death of religion marks the end of the dynamic power of faith, the death of faith marks the end of true will, and the perversion of will is the corruption of understanding which makes it possible for man, that mystery of life, to worship death.

Behind all current wars and revolutions stands the supreme fact that those historic religions which created our civilizations are spiritually dead. By their death, culture and effective social organization comes to collapse. We in the West behold the end of a process made inevitable when our ancestors' religion sanctioned the profit motive by the sale of indulgences, and sanctioned the military motive by producing the Crusades. "Let the dead bury their dead."

Modern man, that enfeebled and bewildered being, must somehow be regenerated and renewed, even as those true Christians who were flung to the lions and the flames in Rome.

The first and greatest obligation of human life is to respond to the highest possibilities of self-development. This response relates man to the universe. It reinforces his physical feebleness from an inexhaustible source of spiritual power. By this power, human will and human understanding are transformed from an animal function to a function of a divinely created, immortal spirit.

When this obligation is disavowed, men become subject to their own animal impulses and needs; and become subject to a lower self, they become subject to false dominations in the social world.

A spiritually blind and slavish generation produces tyranny. No society was ever trapped and betrayed by a tyranny until that society had first betrayed itself. A slavish society, scourged by tyranny to the breaking point, turns to "revolution" under the frantic need to escape, but such effort only substitutes mental and moral tyranny for physical tyranny until pain, that blessed instrument of providence, quickens the souls to some awareness of spiritual truth. In all societies, leadership and power correspond to that level of desire on which the majority of people are living.

From the point of view of religion, this generation cannot longer avoid the necessity of making an independent investigation of truth. Human beings have no obligation to remain forever victims of historical, man-made creeds and ecclesiastical organizations which have substituted psychic influences of ceremony for a true

inward turning to God, and fruitless mass emotion for conscious knowledge of truth.

The present age marks the final completion of that physical cycle which led the human family on the long pilgrimage to the ends of earth. Now the spiritual cycle begins, and the first sign is the availability of knowledge about others' religion. There is no legitimate excuse for any civilized man to fail to understand the universality of religion, and through that understanding grow aware of his essential brotherhood with every other man.

A plan of world unity, then, must base itself upon human regeneration, for only world-minded people, and world-loving people, can establish or maintain an ordered world. Local mindedness and limited loyalty—the inevitable expression of selfishness and ignorance—can produce only a jungle filled with the cries of the slayer and the slain. By prayer we must attain vision, courage and oneness with our fellows; by meditation we must create unity within ourselves that unity may penetrate the world.

EDUCATION

Our modern technical education marks the supreme extension of human selfishness and greed. The whole arsenal of science and culture has been drawn upon for weapons of offense and defense by a generation that dreamed of "progress" and awoke to find itself in international strife.

Until education establishes a living moral, spiritual and social culture, allying all its processes to the vital human capacity for evolution to ever higher states of being, its net result upon society will be destructive. Far better an unlettered, pious peasant than these highly trained priests, lawyers, industrialists, bankers and politicians who outwit the masses and reduce them to willing servitude.

In the United States we have less of that prostitution of education by governmental agencies who employ schools to turn children into a false mold of "loyalty" subserving the ends of militant folly. We do, however, have a tremendous educational system

rendered spiritually sterile by the wholly unjustifiable attitude that "neutrality" must be maintained between Protestant, Catholic and Jewish interests.

Fortunately, the scholastic system no longer monopolizes the function of education in democratic lands. Newspapers, books, magazines and radio constitute an influence which collectively outweighs that of the school and, here and there, tends to correct the flagrant atheism of public education.

Education in reality links the mind to the spirit. A spiritually conscious humanity has today every resource and element required for a world civilization in which poverty, war and other evils of ignorance can be forever banned. Mind, illumined by spirit, is not merely the greatest power on earth; it is the source of all power in society.

But human beings cannot passively await developments in formal public education. The swift and terrible developments of life itself reveal to all a sacred obligation to acquire at least the elements of spiritual truth and world culture. By thought directed to universal ends, the simplest person can acquire freedom of being and social significance.

Through the linking of mind to spirit—the reality of faith—humanity can attain adaptation to that brotherhood which alone will uphold the pillars of international order and peace.

POLITICS

All existing national constitutions were founded as the result of collective will applied within some limited area of society. The process of history has so far made it impossible for humanity to exercise its will as a whole. But in attaining its immediate purpose, the freeing of one people from a pre-existing evil or limitation, a political constitution tends to give to that collective will a significance and authority not justified by fact or truth.

Collective will, whether of small or large groups, can never transcend the principle that human will is valid only it serves the laws of life itself. Nations are but legal corporations; and a corpor-

ation committed to militarism contains the seeds of dissolution. A corporation which remains neutral in the struggle of millions of suffering human beings to secure food and shelter is immoral; and nothing immoral will endure.

Modern states wield tremendous power, but that power unhappily has so far exercised itself to the limit only by the act of war. No episode of peace has yet summoned forth the full capacity and energy of a national state. Until this happens, people will not experience the supreme blessing of organized society: that government is fatherhood and motherhood extended from the individual family to the group.

As the reality of religion restores the wandering prodigal to the house of his Father; as the reality of education kindles intelligence at the sacred fire on the altar of spirit; so the reality of government is the exercise of a social will imbued with the utmost power of protective love. Nothing can today withstand the rise on earth, among all tribes and peoples, of a will to peace. Those states will endure, and grow to greater prosperity, which pass beyond the clamor of party politics and assume the majesty of obedience to divine law.

The end of man's political evolution in this new era is the formation of a world federation. To this end providence is shaping war, revolution and economic catastrophe, as it is employing the forces of religion and voluntary education. The choice is no longer between world federation and competitive states. The choice is whether humanity can establish world federation now, before the outbreak of the final World War, or will do so after the social fabric has been destroyed and the peoples of earth are crushed and broken.

What is world federation? The most succinct definition was that quoted in *World Unity,* November, 1932: "Some form of a world Super-State must needs be evolved, in whose favor all the nations of the world will have willingly ceded every claim to make war, certain rights to impose taxation and all rights to maintain armaments, except for purposes of maintaining internal order within

their respective dominions. Such a state will have to include within its orbit an International Executive adequate to enforce supreme and unchallengeable authority on every recalcitrant member of the commonwealth; a World Parliament whose members shall be elected by the people in their respective countries and whose election shall be confirmed by their respective governments; and a Supreme Tribunal whose judgment will have a binding effect even in such cases where the parties concerned did not voluntarily agree to submit their case to its consideration."

A World State may be defined as the expression of the collective will of mankind. The constitution of such a State represents the final union and agreement of ethics and social science. Its statutes will give full effect to those spiritual laws of human association enunciated so firmly in the Sermon on the Mount.

INDUSTRY

The present organization of industry for profit indicates the complete bankruptcy of man's spiritual life.

Industry should be the glory and freedom of human action—action flowing forth from profound depths of intuition, expressing man's reality, training his intelligence, disciplining his will by standards of perfection, and returning fruits for the common benefit.

Industry is not the factory system; it is the skill of the artist, the knowledge of the physician, the satisfaction of the craftsman, the righteousness of the statesman, coordinated in a community bound by ties of brotherhood and animated by motives which can balance the life outside with the life within.

Nor is industry that modern psychological slavery which individuals impose upon themselves and seek to impose upon others through the doctrines of the false philosophy called Socialism or Communism.

Socialism and Communism are directly inimical to human progress and welfare. They organize all repudiation of spiritual motive in a superfically "just" society which makes an immoral state

a substitute for religion. Historically they have only transient significance as one more evidence of the fact that spiritual reality has ebbed entirely from the old social order. They are specious arguments of a legalism reminiscent of the Scribes and Pharisees of old. "Collectivity" is the antithesis of brotherhood. It is the ultimate betrayal of an individuality which has lost the path to God.

Industry can only reconcile individual freedom and initiative with social good when industry is rid of the artificial restraints imposed upon it by states still functioning in the war era. Industry is a world enterprise, an organization of man's capacity for action throughout the physical limits of earth, and throughout the range of his mental powers. The bounds of industry are reached in assurance of livelihood and opportunity to make contact with the full resources created by human intelligence from nature's bounty. The motive of conscious human life is not profit but attainment of larger being. Industry, as the expression of man's capacity for action, will in the future be related to the wholeness of life as action is related to the completeness of reality.

Since industry is now based upon science, and science is a power of the human intelligence, its essential purpose must be to minimize the expenditure of time upon the fulfilment of physical needs and magnify leisure for mental and spiritual development. As long as war is the chief industry of society, human action will remain divorced from the power of thought and the power of contemplation.

It will be time for specific industrial plans when the precedent religious, educational and political problems have been solved. Plans that connote mass ignorance and helplessness, and assume the principle of the armed, competitive state, are void of meaning.

Meanwhile, the direction of true progress for the present industrial system can be definitely asserted. That direction consists, not in government taking over industry, but in government assuming its full responsibility for the maintenance of a sound standard of living. Governments are the sole arbiters between employer and employee, between inhuman corporations and human citizens. Leg-

islation is urgently demanded under which all employers must be licensed to transact business, the terms of the license asserting wage rates and conditions of work. Firms falling below this standard should have their licenses peremptorily withdrawn. A far higher standard of living can be secured if the legislation likewise establishes a true partnership between capital and labor, under which employees would receive, in addition to wages, a share of the profits.

Industry bleeds to death through the wounds inflicted by price cutters and sweat shops. The first charge upon business is the lives of the workers and their families. Tax-supported charity ruins the citizens by compelling them to pay the difference between adequate and inadequate wages.

Communist and socialist states are not governments but merely vast industrial corporations which dominate by force of arms. They are not governments because they have abandoned the function of arbiter, which supplies to legislation its creative social force. A communist or socialist state, no matter how long it endures, remains to the end merely the organization of revolution. It is an employer who can not only discharge a worker but execute him.

The socialist theory has spread for the reason that democratic governments have not rapidly enough asserted their responsibility and power over the development of industrial and financial organizations. Democracy has confused the neutrality of the arbiter charged with the settlement of a case, with the neutrality of the observer, whom indifference has rendered passive. But democratic (or rather, representative) governments have potentially far greater power to assert justice than have dictatorships, soviets, military oligarchies or any other species of rule. Well is it for human destiny that representative government now feels that its back is against the wall, for that condition is highly favorable to a quickening of its vast, untapped mental and spiritual resources.

Government alone can assert just ethical and social standards upon any business, industry, trade or profession. No more highly protected and exclusive profession exists than that of the law.

What legal association has ever extirpated its own evil and sinister influences, even when they obviously work for the positive destruction of society? If lawyers lack social vision and ethical responsibility, what can be expected of clothing manufacturers, stockbrokers and department stores?

SEVEN STEPS TOWARDS WORLD UNITY

More than twenty years ago the social process now manifest was clearly defined in a letter written by 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

"In cycles gone by, though harmony was established, yet, owing to the absence of means, the unity of all mankind could not have been achieved. Continents remained widely divided, nay even among the peoples of one and the same continent association and interchange of thought were well nigh impossible. Consequently intercourse, understanding and unity amongst all the peoples and kindreds of the earth were unattainable. In this day, however, means of communication have multiplied, and the five continents of the earth have virtually merged into one. . .

"In like manner all the members of the human family, whether peoples or governments, cities or villages, have become increasingly interdependent. For none is self-sufficiency any longer possible, inasmuch as political ties unite all peoples and nations, and the bonds of trade and industry, of agriculture and education, are being strengthened every day. Hence the unity of all mankind can in this day be achieved.

"Verily, this is none other but one of the wonders of this wondrous age, this glorious century. Of this past ages have been deprived, for this century—the century of light—has been endowed with unique and unprecedented glory, power and illumination. Hence the miraculous unfolding of a fresh marvel every day. Eventually it will be seen how bright its candles will burn in the assemblage of man.

"Behold how its light is now dawning upon the world's darkened horizon. The first candle is unity in the political realm, the early glimmerings of which can now be discerned. The second candle is unity of thought in world undertakings, the consumma-

tion of which will ere long be witnessed. The third candle is unity in freedom which will surely come to pass. The fourth candle is unity in religion which is the corner-stone of the foundation itself, and which, by the power of God, will be revealed in all its splendor. The fifth candle is the unity of nations—a unity which in this century will be securely established, causing all the peoples of the world to regard themselves as citizens of one common fatherland. The sixth candle is unity of races, making all that dwell on earth peoples and kindreds of one race. The seventh candle is unity of language, i.e., the choice of a universal tongue in which all peoples will be instructed and converse. Each and every one of these will inevitably come to pass, inasmuch as the power of the Kingdom of God will aid and assist in their realization."

THE ROLE OF AMERICA

In *World Unity* for April, 1932, Edwin D. Mead, venerable crusader for peace, wrote on "The Thought of God in American History:" "Our founders made us know at the beginning that we may not live for ourselves alone, that nothing human is foreign to us, and that above all nations is humanity. Washington and Franklin and Jefferson were the foremost Peace statesmen of their age, and aspired to make their new nation the inspirer of a new era for mankind. They demanded that war be banished from the earth, and sought to make the United States the prophecy and preparation for the United World."

People of darkened vision would make America merely one of the competitive nations, forgetting that America is composed of people carrying the blood of all races in the world. In the evolution of society, America today stands not as one more competitive state but as the people capable of exercising decisive influence upon the progress of human affairs.

Recent events are clarifying this remarkable status, this rôle of world leadership imposed by destiny upon the continents of the West. When America finds herself, and becomes united in the humanitarian task of assisting the downtrodden poor and "scourg-

ing the great oppressors," she will be prepared to discharge the greater responsibilities related to the international problem.

The profound hope is expressed at this time that in the near future an International Conference will be called at Washington by the President of the United states, a Conference committed to the task, first, of formulating the international problem in terms of human reality, and second, of drafting measures commensurate with that problem in all its political, economic and social implications.

The greatest International Conference held so far was that called to adopt the Treaty of Versailles—a conference based upon war.

The International Conference here proposed is one based upon peace, a final and supreme effort to stay the swift tide of catastrophe now flowing across the world. Such a Conference could secure and retain the confidence and respect of all civilized people. It could become the greatest educational instrument in human history. By sessions sufficiently prolonged it could eventuate in a World Plan so constructive that opposition, no matter how inveterate, could be clearly understood as the last stand of reactionary ignorance—the darkness preceding dawn.

That this consummation may be achieved; that there may be established a social agency definitely separating the future of humanity from its blood stained past; that the blessed assurances of all the prophets and saints may be vindicated; that the masses of human beings may be spared the slow torture of bitter poverty or the grim swiftness of the death prepared in the next war—this hope, it is believed, may well be shared and transmuted into a dominant ideal by friends of peace in every nation of the world.

IN QUARANTINE BEFORE A NEW WORLD

by

FRANK WALSER

IN these days of reduced budgets and financial cares, days flooded with uncertainty, we so often talk of economic effects of the depression. But how much more important for the nation and the race's future is the effect of the depression on our thought! Let us stop and look around us! The depression has not only ruined our fortunes. It has disintegrated the foundations of our self-sure, self-centered lives. Not many are escaping the deep, meditative stirrings which it has released. They are leading, often through pain, to new vision, new hope and new determination. For life and its meaning are being looked upon anew, as if we had never really lived before.

Where is this depression carrying us? It is cutting our profits and our wages, it is putting into question the value of the tariff and the payment of international debts. But, though we talk freely of these things, we secretly know that certain others on which we only rarely whisper a comment, are far more important. For the depression is also cutting deep changes in our standards of value, our friendships, our reading, our attitudes towards religion and politics. It is putting into question our old ethics of practical business men, skeptical scientific minds, or aloof academicians. It is drawing us by one little step after another to paths that we had always shunned. Perhaps we belittled religious experience and prayer, classed Socialism as mere fantasy or philosophy with day-dreams. Perhaps we found no need for music and remained indifferent to the inspirations of ancient and modern art. Our practical and objective attitude seemed to us proof against such whims. The little game of professional success gave us all our rapture.

Today this attitude appears in retrospect to have been cramped and circumscribed. With this recognition, our narrowing assurance has vanished like smoke. We may yet be holding on to that little remnant of pride which keeps us from admitting that we too had allowed our interest in these things to be completely dominated by our ambition to climb the social ladder. But deep within us we know that we have been one with the common cloth of our age, just one thread in the woof.

There may be many to whom the above does not apply. They are perhaps disinclined even now to be completely honest with themselves. A large number are today so full of resentment at a system which has swallowed their savings and ruthlessly thrown them out of employment, that they are far from any mood to analyze their own responsibility. Their own past share of unconcern for larger aims than personal economic status is not among the object of their present broodings. For the man whose children are being undernourished the chain of cause and consequence which starts with the nature of his own personal ambition must seem absurdly long. From Washington and Wall Street the path is shorter and more evident. His past indifference to social or national interests is not apparently as blameworthy as that of the banker or the Congressman. The long sequence between the chaos in self and the chaos in our industrial system is only for the few to explore. But it is in them and their scrutiny that we may find hope.

They are the intellectuals—teachers, writers, publishers, editors and executives; artists, actors and technicians. They are likely to be among those who strongly influence other minds and institutions by their opinion. Their new, frank scrutiny will increase their opposition to the deadening influence on these institutions, of the prejudices of comfortably provided trustees and all the easy going, easily satisfied, century old habits. This new scrutiny will tend everywhere to break the long conspiracy of silence over social-economic issues, such as the cause of unemployment, the control of governments by the big interests, the relation be-

tween large profits and the small purchasing power of the masses. And this influence towards greater honesty, courage and sincerity of objective, is not a passing one like that of the temporarily unemployed or the emotional agitator. For it is rooted deep in an inner change, in a greater honesty in facing the consequence of one's own acts and indifference, and a greater courage in admitting one's own share in the cramped motive of a misguided nation.

How much hope may lie in the change now going on in intellectual leaders of every degree! What a powerful leaven for new ideas they may be in the nation's present receptive mood! If they truly possess a new spirit, they may ferment it for the nation's future. If they will think and discuss frankly until they discover that all the plans and national organization in the world cannot help us if the motive which inspires us to effort is as small and personal as it has been, we may truly build on new pillars of cooperation within and between nations. If they can prove to themselves, through the pressure of their own stalled endeavors, and their own ceaseless worry over bills to pay, and neighbors and relatives to rescue from poverty and distress, that our motive has become inadequate to direct intelligently the new gigantic mechanical powers of which we are the inheritors, what a force of national rebirth may radiate today from their new convictions! They will see as a psychologically conditioned possibility a new world of mass producing, short-hour industry, controlled to supply the wants of the whole people, not merely of a select few. They will see our monopolistic profiteering and absurdly costly distribution replaced by an economy giving ample leisure for adult development to all, and the madness of armaments replaced by world economic organization which will avoid the daily waste of half our effort.

All our social-economic schemes for national planning and international reconstruction will fail unless our incessant fears of insecurity, our petty ambitions to shine, and our desire for more money to satisfy various complex-urged cravings, can become tempered by the deeper and inner satisfaction which comes from religion and philosophy. We need a new and intense confidence

in a purposeful universe and a transformable mankind to give us both the social incentive and the inner assurance to confer honestly and therefore fruitfully on our economic issues. Without this new incentive and this new assurance, however good the plan, we will be incapable of cooperating loyally to support it.

Our generation is like a ship in quarantine for its motives before the port of a new world. Already on its threshold, we feel our unfitness to enter. This world is in every way bigger and nobler, and we are still the little men of the old, still impelled by our petty ambitions, still filled with torpid indifferences and pathetically immature desires. Can we enter it or will the low temper of our impulses prevent us? Will our grandchildren finally enter or none yet for centuries? The answer hangs uncertain in the balance. We, the few who like to ponder, are writing it ourselves today, tomorrow and the next day, by the new thought and new motive which the depression may prompt in us.

CHINA'S CHANGING CULTURE

by

FRANK RAWLINSON
Editor, The Chinese Recorder, Shanghai

IV. SOME OTHER TRANSITIONAL CULTURAL CHANGES

(Continued)

(b) *Education*

THE Chinese have always believed in education. Modern Chinese educators still lay their main stress, as we have noted, on education for vocational purposes. But it now centers in training for life in general; for all vocations. Its chief and most modern note is the *popularization* of learning. That is a modern Chinese cultural emphasis of major importance.

China's first modern government school was organized in 1862. Its aim was to train official classes to converse with foreign diplomats in their own languages. During the following twenty-six years a number of technical "colleges" were started, aiming mainly at training government servants. The imitation of western education was for long a prime motive. In turn China's educational leaders turned to Japan, Germany, America and finally, to some extent, to France. The first attempt to popularize education came in 1901 in an imperial mandate which called for middle and primary schools as well as universities. The first official system of *public* schools appeared in 1902. Changes have been rapid and significant ever since. In 1903 halfday schools for the poor were organized. Education for girls was also in this year mentioned for the first time by permitting them to study with boys in elementary schools. In 1912 the first set of educational principles appeared. These included the equalization of educational opportunity for all classes and a reference to compulsory education. In

1915 two types of schools were proposed, one for the common people and one for the higher classes. During these years provincial educational associations sprang up heading up in a national federation. In 1921 there emerged a set of educational principles which are still dominant and show how far China had travelled in fifty-nine years towards the popularization of learning. These principles aim at fostering the spirit of democratic education, caring for *individual* development, popularizing education, meeting *local* needs and conditions, adjustment with the economic strength of the people, education for *living* and caring for the changes from the old to a new order.

The growth of governmental educational facilities was comparatively rapid. In 1922-3 it was reported that government schools of the modernized type numbered 127,639 with 4,294,181 students. At the same time it was estimated that the number of students in traditional private schools was equal or perhaps greater than that in modern schools. The number of modern Chinese schools was then about 18 times as large as that of mission schools and the number of students about twenty times as large. There were then actually three types of schools in operation in China. (1) Private—old. (2) Government—modern. (3) Mission—modern. The total school population was then about 13,500,000. This was about 13.5% of the possible school population and 3.3% of the general population. As a result of recent revolutionary events all Chinese schools have like Christian schools tended to decrease in numbers and efficiency. Christian schools, however, find it somewhat easier to regain stability than the others.

Educationalists, like everybody else, find their plans often frustrated and complicated by political and economic chaos, but they have moved forward nevertheless. It is declared that China's illiteracy has actually decreased as one result of this and other efforts. Universal education to secure all-round individual development is China's present educational aim. Their present curricula are mainly, though by no means exclusively, western.

Two other movements aiming at the popularization of learning followed in the wake of the above efforts. Previous to 1922 the problem of teaching the national language had become acute in secondary schools. In that year Dr. Hu Shih publicly drew attention to the necessity of using the vernacular for educational purposes. This started the "Intellectual Renaissance." For a long time before this missionaries had been using Bibles in numerous forms of local phonetic and had also put it into the Mandarin. Later the governmental educational authorities published a phonetic system of their own, mainly for the purpose of unifying the spoken language. How far Christian and Chinese efforts affected each other cannot be said. Dr. Hu Shih says he got his first inspiration from reading novels. In any event in the use of the vernacular for educational purposes Christians were ahead of these Chinese movements. The vernacular has been used in government schools. The tendency has been, however, to reduce its use as students rise in grade.

Another movement for the popularization of learning was the National Association for Mass Education which was started in 1923. This movement actually began as a departmental activity of the Y.M.C.A. under the guidance of Mr. J. W. Yen, who is still its leader. It is now, however, carried on by an entirely independent Chinese organization. It has received hearty popular support. It uses four readers which cost altogether ten cents Mexican. Much volunteer effort has gone into promoting its work. Two million of the readers went into circulation in two years. The Nationalist Government requested Mr. Yen to set up a mass education program in Kiangsu and appropriated Mexican $2,000,000 for that purpose.

China has probably over forty million children of school age. Her chief educational need is trained teachers. Experimentation is the keynote of her present educational situation. A prominent educationist has immured himself in a Chinese village* in order to evolve a kindergarten suited to the economic and educational needs of the ordinary village community. Chinese educators no longer

*China Christian Year Book, 1928, page 233.

seek to imitate the West alone, but are using the most advanced western educational methods and trying to fit them into Chinese needs and conditions. Modern education in China is thus becoming indigenous.

(c) *Economic Welfare*

Modern industrial enterprises are one evident sign of the transitional cultural situation. Two lines are apparent. First, the use of western machinery in small and independent shops. Second, the establishment of factories. The adoption of western industry was a spontaneous action on China's part. The first Chinese cotton mill was started in 1879. This was ten years before foreigners were allowed by treaty to engage in such industrial enterprises in China and seventeen years before the first British factory was started. Modern industry in China is mainly in the hands of Chinese. In 1926, for instance, there were seventy-three Chinese cotton mills to one British. By the side of and much more extensive than this modern industrial effort is the old Chinese handicraft system. Generally speaking conditions are bad in both fields. Both are still unregulated to any effective extent. There are, of course, both Chinese and foreign exceptions to this general condition. Some labor regulations have been issued from both Canton and Peking. These attain greater effectiveness in Canton than Peking, but in neither case is legislation or its enforcement equal to the needs. Strikes have become increasingly prominent. Ninety per cent of strikes set up by Canton Labor Movements in 1920-21 were successful. This augmented greatly the prestige of such movements. Towards these official interests tend to suppression: military definitely so. Christians as a group have made no pronouncements thereon.

The transitional state of China's economic life is seen along several lines. Modern industrial methods have attained a sure though still small footing. Labor has achieved a new consciousness revealed in a revolt against economic imperialism and organized efforts to improve laboring conditions and standards. Labor and industrial problems have acquired, to some extent, legal recogni-

tion. Modern legal codes recognized the old Chinese guilds by giving them considerable rights and power. There has also been a rapid rise of peasant and labor organizations. These latter have a much less definite and stable position legally than the former. Peasant's organizations arose in Kwangtung in 1921. In 1926 their membership numbered 630,000. They appeared in other provinces also, particularly in Hunan. Their chief problems were land-ownership and rent. Labor organizations have grown apace also. In Canton there was at one time 200 unions with 290,628 members. In Hupeh province there were 510 unions with a membership of 450,000. These unions aim principally at increasing wages and improving laboring conditions, particularly a reduction of the number of hours. In contradistinction to the old guilds these modern labor unions tend to dissociate the employee from the employer, a western emphasis. There have appeared, therefore, the beginnings of class conflict. This does not, however, at present threaten to become dominant in China's economic life, though a resurgence of Communistic influence might have that effect. In 1926 some government (Peking) regulations permitted, among other things, labor organizations, made arbitration compulsory and were against strikes. The weakness of both the peasant's and laborer's organizations is in their lack of education and knowledge of their own problems and a dearth of experienced leadership. The Nationalist Government has tried to promote the labor movement and has a Labor Department. The Northern Government issued some regulations and had delegates at International Labor Conferences: the National Government had a delegate at the last of these conferences. The most advanced labor demands were set forth in the Economic Program of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference held in Hankow, June, 1927. This called for all modern protections for workers, both men and women, and set fourteen as the age-limit for child workers. It is clear, therefore, that this transitional cultural period is marked by a rising consciousness on the part of Chinese labor.

PRELUDE

by

GEORGE TOWNSHEND
Canon, Church of England

Be of good cheer!
What but the glory of the Light of Light
Could cast such shadows on a world forlorn?
If our hearts whispered not the hope of morn
Would we so hate the horror of the night?
What is it else than desperate bitter fear
That drives the troops of evil, who know well
Their hour is come, to vent their dying rage
Upon the people of this heaven-lit age
And seek by every means they may to sell
Their lost dominion dear?

Be of good cheer!
The very depth of our perplexity
Amid this whirling world of strife and care
Where disillusion beckons to despair
Is of itself a call for help, a cry
That angels' heart will not be slow to hear.
For it is ever in such a time as ours,
When man has ransacked sea and land for rest
And never sought the heaven in his own breast,
That God reveals once more His hidden powers
And in His might draws near.

Be of good cheer!
Though all things change, Truth's kingdom is secure.
The forms of faith come, go, and are forgot,
But that which they enshrine can perish not.

Altars may crumble, worship will endure.
Those holy things that God bids man revere
Reign on unchecked by man's satanic will;
Wisdom and love are of a higher birth
Than these frail phantom forces of the earth
And take their deathless power from Him Whose will
Above all change stands clear.

Be of good cheer!
What kings desired in vain God gives to you
And in this wondrous day before our eyes
Unseals His ancient book of mysteries
Making all things in earth and heaven new.
Truth hath come down from some far flaming sphere;
Lo, in our midst her sacred fires burn!
And see — trace back these countless rays of light
To the One Point wherein they all unite,
And bow your forehead in the dust to know
That God Himself is here!

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF PARASITES

by

MAURICE C. HALL
Chief, Zoological Division, Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture

NOT surprisingly, the first suggestion for international control of parasitism which has come to my attention emanates from Russia in an article published a few years ago by Skrjabin. That Soviet Russia should be early in the field with proposals for international action follows from the fact that the U.S.S.R. has a united setup in the form of governmental direction of all activities in connection with parasitism and many other things, and this naturally leads to a consideration of unified and planned international action as a future possibility. In other countries, where there is an interplay of national, state, provincial, local and private activities, with little in the way of joint planning to coordinate these activities except occasionally in limited areas and for limited periods of time, the existing lack of unified planning within the nation does not lead one to plan international activities except as circumstances force a consideration of specific lines of action.

Up to the present time there has been a very limited amount of action looking toward the prevention of the introduction of parasites of man or animals into one country from another, but circumstances have forced a consideration of such action in certain cases. Thus, in the case of human parasites, quarantine measures of one sort and another are taken to prevent the introduction of such diseases as yellow fever which, while it may not be regarded as a disease due to animal parasites, the precise status of its etiological agent being still a moot point, is established as a parasite-borne disease since it is transmitted by mosquitoes. In a similar way the prevention of international movement of human parasites into the United States is attempted in the case of trichinosis by

governmental regulations requiring that pork and pork products customarily eaten raw must be subjected, before introduction into the United States, to the same processes that they would be subject to if made in the United States. In the same way precautions are taken to keep out certain parasitic diseases of livestock, such as cattle tick fever, surra, and similar things by appropriate regulations prohibiting importation of livestock from certain areas in some cases, and requiring the holding of animals in quarantine for a given period of time in other cases.

These illustrations furnish examples of what lines of attack might be utilized in international control of parasites. In general terms, one can prohibit international travel or the importation of livestock, or one can invoke quarantine regulations of a sort calculated to prevent the introduction of parasites, or one can require that certain measures be taken preliminary to the movement of persons or livestock from one country to another to prevent the international movement of parasites. All of these lines of conduct have to be formulated with reference to the specific problem in hand and applied with considerable judgment in order that the benefits may outweigh the disadvantages.

This is something that calls for serious consideration in any program looking toward putting impediments in the way of international travel and international trade. It is well known to parasitologists that as a result of international travel and trade many parasites, some of them of major importance, have been carried from one country where they were prevalent to other countries where previously they had been unknown. Of itself this is a serious matter which would naturally lead one to feel that regulatory measures should be taken to prevent such things. Nevertheless, one must keep in mind the very great advantages which follow from a relatively free and unrestricted international travel and commerce, and weigh the advantages against the disadvantages before proposing to slow up or to stop the free movement of persons and commodities between countries. There is no simple way of measuring the advantages and disadvantages in this con-

nection. If the unrestricted movement of travel and immigration has spread diseases to areas previously free from these diseases, it has also brought all of the benefits which have come from an influx of people who were of value to the country which received them. If the international movement of livestock has brought parasites of livestock into areas previously uninfested, it is still true that this movement of livestock has resulted in the introduction of better breeds and in all of the other advantages which go with the business of supplying animals from which we get our meat, wool, leather, and other livestock products.

An additional difficulty which will be encountered when the world takes up the problem of controlling international movement of parasites in general, is the difficulty in diagnosing parasitism in any simple and practical manner so far as many parasites are concerned, and this difficulty will prove to be a very real one both in the cases of parasites of man and of animals. While the presence of some forms of parasites is very easily established, others cannot be diagnosed with any such ease, and negative findings cannot be depended upon to mean an absence of parasitism.

Another difficulty in this connection is the fact that so far as livestock are concerned parasitism at one time or another is practically ubiquitous, and if we were to undertake to keep out parasitized animals it would almost certainly mean a complete or almost complete cessation of international movement of livestock. Such a procedure could hardly fail to have more disadvantages than advantages.

At the present time it would appear that the soundest means for the control of international movements of parasites lie along the lines of research on parasites, the development of control measures for parasites, based on research, and the application of these control measures as extensively as possible, over the world. Fortunately, science itself is international. The published findings of parasitologists anywhere promptly become the world's property, and the advance front of the science of parasitology moves forward more or less simultaneously over the world.

The common findings of the science in regard to control measures must be translated in terms of local practice and custom, since customs and livestock practices vary greatly. To the extent that these adaptations are successfully made, and parasites are brought under control or eradicated in any country, the rest of the world benefits from an increased safety from parasites in livestock imported from the country which has achieved control. For the time being, we must depend primarily on research, with results internationally available, and national control of parasites, rather than on international control measures to prevent the spread of parasites.

At present we have adequate control measures for only a few parasites, and all of these are not widely used. We must develop many more, and more satisfactory, control measures for parasites as national problems before we shall be in a position to develop international activities. Whatever is to be done should be done on a basis of sound knowledge. In default of this, international measures for the control of parasites might result in more harm than good.

The sixth article in a Symposium on THE SUBSTANCE OF WORLD COOPERATION—the contribution of the scientist and engineer to international unity and peace.

DAVID LOW DODGE

Founder of the First Peace Society

by

EDWIN D. MEAD

(*Concluded*)

THE character and influence of the family which he founded in New York, during the three generations which have followed, constitute an impressive witness to David Dodge's force and worth, his religious consecration, and high public spirit. At the junction of Broadway and Sixth Avenues stands the statue of his son, William Earl Dodge, whose life of almost fourscore years ended in 1883. For long years the head of the great house of Phelps, Dodge & Co., the manager of immense railway, lumber,and mining interests, the president of the New York Chamber of Commerce, a representative of New York in Congress, a leader in large work for temperance, for the freedmen, for the Indians, for theological education, for a score of high patriotic and philanthropic interests, New York had in his time no more representative, more useful, or more honored citizen. And what is said of him may be said in almost the same words of William Earl Dodge, his son, who died but a few years ago, and who combined broad business and philanthropic activities in the same strong and influential way as his father and grandfather before him. President of many religious and benevolent associations, he was pre-eminently a patriot and an international man. The logic of his life and of his heritage placed him naturally at the head of the National Arbitration Committee, which was appointed at the great conference on international arbitration held at Washington in the spring of 1896, following the anxiety attendant upon President Cleveland's Venezuelan message,—a committee which, under his chairmanship, and after his death that of Hon. John W. Foster, during the

decade which followed rendered such great service to the peace and arbitration cause in this country. It is to be noted also that the names of his son and daughter, Cleveland H. Dodge and Grace H. Dodge, names so conspicuously associated with charitable, religious, and educational efforts in New York, were associated, too, like his, with the commanding cause of the world's peace and better organization. Both names stood upon the American Committee of the Thirteenth International Peace Congress, which met in Boston in 1904, and upon multitudes of similar honor rolls, Woodrow Wilson trusted no man more than he trusted Cleveland Dodge. Thus have the generations which have followed him well learned and strongly emphasized the lesson taught by David Dodge more than a century ago, that war is "inhuman, unwise and criminal," and "inconsistent with the religion of Jesus Christ." Bayard Dodge, a son of Cleveland H. Dodge, has long been the devoted president of the great American university at Beirut, rendering preëminent service for the spread of American influence and international principles through the East; and his brother, Cleveland E. Dodge, a leader in the New York business and religious world, is president of the Near East Foundation. Thus does the strong international note sounded by David Low Dodge still sound on in this consecrated family.

It was in 1805 that a startling personal experience prompted the train of thought which soon and forever made David L. Dodge the advocate of the thorough-going peace principles with which his name is chiefly identified, and led him to condemn all violence, even in self-defense, in dealing between men, as between nations. Accustomed to carry pistols when traveling with large sums of money, he was almost led to shoot his landlord in a tavern at Providence, Rhode Island, who by some blunder had come into his room at night and suddenly wakened him. The thought of what his situation and feelings would have been had he taken the man's life shocked him into most searching thinking. For two or three years his mind dwelt on the question. He turned to the teaching and example of Christ, and became persuaded that these were in-

consistent with violence and the carrying of deadly weapons and with war. The common churchman sanctioned such things, but not the early Christians; and he found strong words condemning war in Luther and Erasmus, the Moravians and Quakers. Discussing the matter with many pious and Christian men, he found them generally avoiding the gospel standard. He was shocked by the "general want of faith in the promises;" but he himself laid aside at once his pistols and the fear of robbers. He became absolutely convinced that fighting and warfare were "unlawful for the followers of Christ;" and from now on he began to bear public testimony against the war spirit.

Early in the spring of 1809 he published his essay, *The Mediator's Kingdom not of this World,* which attracted so much attention that in two weeks nearly a thousand copies were sold. Three literary men joined in preparing a spirited and sarcastic criticism of it; and he immediately published a rejoinder. *The Mediator's Kingdom* was published in Philadelphia and in Providence, and Mr. Dodge writes truly: "These publications gave the first impulse in America, if we except the uniform influence of the Friends, to inquiry into the lawfulness of war by Christians. Some who were favorable to the doctrines of peace judged that, with a bold hand, I had carried the subject too far; and doubtless, as it was new and had not been much discussed, I wrote too unguardedly, not sufficiently defining my terms. The Rev. Dr. Noah Worcester was one who so judged, and a few years after he published his very spirited and able essay, *The Solemn Review of War.*" This famous essay of Worcester's represents the platform of the great body of American peace workers for a century, the position of men like Channing and Ladd and Jay and Sumner; but to a nonresistant and opponent even of self-defense, like David Dodge, these seemed the exponents of a halfway covenant.

Mr. Dodge entered into private correspondence on the lawfulness of war with Rev. Lyman Beecher, Rev. Aaron Cleveland, his father-in-law, Rev. John B. Romeyn, and Rev. Walter King. He preserved among his manuscripts letters of twenty-five pages

from Dr. Romeyn and Mr. Cleveland, and copies of his reply to Dr. Romeyn (one hundred and thirty-two pages) and to Dr. Beecher (forty-four pages). Important letters from Dr. Beecher and Governor Jay he had lost. All these took the position of Dr. Worcester, sanctioning strictly defensive war in extreme cases,—all except Mr. Cleveland, who finally came into complete accord with Mr. Dodge, and published two able sermons on "The Life of Man Inviolable by the Laws of Christ."

Early in 1812 the friends of peace whom Mr. Dodge had gathered about him in New York conferred upon the forming of a peace society, "wholly confined to decided evangelical Christians, with a view to diffusing peace principles in the churches, avoiding all party questions." There being at this juncture, however, intense political feeling over the threatened war with Great Britain, they feared their motives would be misapprehended, and decided for the moment simply to act individually in diffusing information. Mr. Dodge was appointed to prepare an essay on the subject of war, stating and answering objections; and, removing at this time to Norwich, he there, in a period of great business perplexity, completed his remarkable paper on "War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ," which was published in the very midst of the war with England.

Upon his return to New York, the friends of peace there had two or three meetings relative to the organization of a society; and in August, 1815, they formed the New York Peace Society, of between thirty and forty members, their strict articles of association condemning all war, offensive and defensive, as wholly opposed to the example and spirit and precepts of Christ. The peace societies formed immediately afterwards in Massachusetts, Ohio, Rhode Island, and London were organized, according to Mr. Dodge, without any knowledge of each other, the movements being the simultaneous separate results of a common impulse. Of the New York society Mr. Dodge was unanimously elected president. Monthly meetings were arranged, and at the first of these Mr. Dodge read an address upon "The Kingdom of Peace under

the Benign Reign of Messiah," of which a thousand copies were at once printed and circulated. Within two years the society had increased to sixty members, men active not only against war—which the society regarded as "the greatest temporal evil, as almost every immorality is generated in its prosecution, and poverty, distress, famine, and pestilence follow in its train"—but in all the benevolent enterprises of that day. "Several respectable clergymen united with the society,—Rev. Drs. E. D. Griffin and M. L. Parvine, Rev. E. W. Baldwin (to whose pen we were much indebted), Rev. Samuel Whelpley, and his son, Rev. Melancthon Whelpley, Rev. H. G. Ufford, and Rev. S. H. Cox. Dr. Cox, however, afterwards entertained different views on the subject."

The New York Peace Society had friendly correspondence with all other peace societies, and for several years took two hundred copies of Dr. Worcester's *Friend of Peace.* This seems finally to have contributed to divide the society, some relinquishing the non-resistant views of Mr. Dodge and adopting Worcester's less extreme position. But our brave Tolstoian was a "thorough," and never wavered. "If it was morally wrong for individuals to quarrel and fight, instead of returning good for evil,"—these are his last words on the subject in his autobiography,—"it was much more criminal for communities and nations to return evil for evil, and not strive to overcome evil with good. In fact, the great barrier to our progress was the example of our fathers in the American Revolution. That they were generally true patriots, in the political sense of the term, and many hopefully pious, I would not call in question, while I consider them as ill directed by education as St. Paul was when on his way to Damascus."

The New York Peace Society maintained its existence and work for many years. In 1828 it united with other societies in the creation of the American Peace Society which was organized in New York on May 8th of that year on the initiative of William Ladd. After this the New York society seems to have done little separate work, and finally its independent existence ceased. Mr. Dodge assisted in the organization of the new national society,

and presided at its first annual meeting, May 13th, 1829. He was chosen a member of its board of directors, and later became a life director, maintaining his connection with the society until his death in 1852, faithful to the end to the radical views by which he had become so powerfully possessed almost half a century before.

For two generations New York was without a local peace society. The services of eminent individual citizens of the city and state of New York for the peace cause during that period, however, were signal. Judge William Jay of New York was for a decade president of the American Peace Society,—the important decade covering the great peace congresses in Europe at the middle of the last century; and it was his proposal that an arbitration clause should be attached to all future commercial treaties which furnished the basis for the most constructive debates of the first congress, that at London in 1843. The most important series of conferences on International Arbitration for the twenty years before the World War were those at Lake Mohonk, in the State of New York, arranged and sustained by Albert K. Smiley, conferences of continually growing scope and moment, commanding world-wide attention and performing for this country much the same service performed for France and England by their national peace congresses. The three really important members of the American delegation at the First Hague Conference were citizens of New York,—Andrew D. White, Seth Low and Frederick W. Holls. A remarkable plan adopted by the New York Bar association suggested important features of the Court of Arbitration as finally constituted. At one of the Mohonk conferences a large committee of New York men, under the chairmanship of Mr. Warner Van Norden, was formed for conference with a view to establish a new Peace Society in New York. Upon the American committee of the International Peace Congress which met in Boston in 1904 were no less than sixteen residents of the City of New York,—Andrew Carnegie, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Hon. George F. Seward, Walter S. Logan, Felix Adler, William D. Howells, Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Miss Grace H. Dodge, Rev.

Josiah Strong, Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, Cleveland H. Dodge, George Foster Peabody, Professor John B. Clark, Leander B. Chamberlain, and J. G. Phelps Stokes. In the week following the Boston congress a series of great peace meetings was held in New York, at the Cooper Institute and elsewhere, arranged by members of this committee; and out of all this a new impulse came to plans for local organization in New York. As a result a strong society was formed by the Germans of the city, and a large Women's Peace Circle was organized and began important educational work. Presently came the New York Peace Society, with Andrew Carnegie, and then Oscar Straus, at the head of it, and such effective workers as Samuel T. Dutton, Robert E. Ely, Ernst Richard, and Charles H. Levermore; and the New York National Peace Congress in 1907, under Mr. Carnegie's presidency, was the most impressive peace demonstration ever seen in New York.

It must not be forgotten that it was through the initiative of Theodore Roosevelt, the President of the United States, that the second Hague Conference was called; and Mr. Roosevelt was a citizen of New York.

The Secretary of State under Mr. Roosevelt in 1907, Elihu Root, was also a citizen of New York; and his instructions to our American delegation emphasized the urgency of the reduction of armaments and of the thorough organization of a World Court. By eloquent coincidence it came about that when the World Court, not then established, was finally organized after the founding of the League of Nations. Elihu Root himself was the most influential member of the international commission which organized it. Today our most revered international man, undeterred by any delays or hindrances, he views with firm hope and confidence the steady progress of the cause of peace and the development of the instrumentalities of international law and order. "The League of Nations and the World Court," he has recently said, "have in this time done more for the cause of world peace than any other agencies in the whole history of civilization."

When Andrew Carnegie founded the Carnegie Endowment for international Peace, in 1910, with an endowment of $10,000,000, it was natural and fitting that he should make Elihu Root its first president. The work of the Carnegie Endowment, first under the presidency of Mr. Root and now under Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, has made New York the greatest center for peace education and effort in the world. In 1914 Mr. Carnegie followed this foundation by that of the Church Peace Union, with an endowment of $2,000,000 and with its headquarters also in New York, which under the guidance of such men as Bishop Greer, Charles E. Jefferson and William P. Merrill has done such notable service for the peace cause not only in the churches of America but of the world. Before this Mr. Carnegie had given $1,500,000 for a worthy building for the International Arbitration Tribunal at The Hague, which now serves also for the World Court; and he also gave $5,000,000 to establish a pension fund for "heroes of peace," whose heroism, too long comparatively neglected, he rightly saw to be not less than the heroism of the soldier. He gave the noble building at Washington for the use of the Pan-American Union; and these are but conspicuous examples of his devotion and generosity to the cause of international friendship and cooperation, which was the master consecration of his life. It is a notable and impressive fact that this culmination of service for the peace cause in America should be through one who was at the same time a great business leader and a great lover of mankind, in the same city of New York where, a century before, that great merchant and great friend of man, David Low Dodge, founded the first Peace Society in America and in the world.

WHITHER BOUND RELIGION?

A Symposium

Collected and Edited by

PAUL RUSSELL ANDERSON
Columbia University

VI

ARCHBISHOP NERSES
Archbishop, Gregorian Church, Tabriz, Persia

THE history of Armenia is the history of an oppressed people. Originally a self-sufficient country centered around the southern slopes of the Caucasus but extending further west than Mt. Ararat, Armenia has been tossed to and fro by vast and ambitious empires on north, south and west. Subject to Alexander, the Romans, Parthia, Persia, and the Mongols, it finally came under the sway of Islam. Terrific massacres in 1895 and in the early 1920's paint vivid pictures of the torture and persecution which Armenians have suffered on every hand. Today, scattered all over Asia Minor, they still remain a distinct race, preserving their own language and national characteristics despite tyrannies to which they have been continually subject.

The Gregorian Church, or the Armenian Church, has had no less harrassing a history. It dates from early Christian history as a distinct division of the Eastern Christian Church. It was given its greatest impetus through Gregory, a thoroughly capable missionary in the early part of the fourth century who, by miraculous means, supposedly turned the king Tiridates back to his human form from that of a wild boar to which he had been changed as a penalty for murdering a nun. On the basis of this act, Gregory converted the king and his people, and thus, according to tradition, Armenia became the first country to acknowledge Christianity as its national religion. But as early as the sixth century schisms began to create dissension in the Gregorian ranks. In the fourteenth

century a large group accepted the Roman Catholic form of Christianity and became designated as the "United Armenian Church." Subjection to Turkish, Persian, and Russian domination in succeeding periods when church officials were appointed by and subject to political leaders, the entrance of Protestant missionaries, violence on the part of Kurds and others, all have served to give the Gregorian Church a turbulent career.

It seems perfectly natural, then, with a heritage of this sort, that Archbishop Nerses should turn away from formal beliefs to moral precepts as a basis for the religious future. It is, again, quite unusual to note that he cherishes no hatred toward other races and other religious groups despite the persecution and torture so characteristic of Armenian history. The Archbishop stated his great willingness and desire to cooperate with other groups, other races, and other faiths in any constructive movement to bring about closer understanding and greater justice to all humanity.

"Religion is the universal aspiration to God and with God, the first principle of which is faith. The religious follower, if he is a true believer, will perform those duties which dictate universal morality and flow from the very essence of religion. If the believing Christian and the believing Buddhist, as well as the believers in other faiths, follow in the steps of Christ and Buddha, or the other prophets, mankind will reach to the high pinnacle to which these two religious teachers through their personal examples pointed, following the command, 'Be ye perfect as your Father is perfect.' The future of religion rests on faith and on performance."

VII

Haj Amin Husseini

President, Moslem Supreme Council, Palestine

There are few Moslem officials in the Near East who are held in as high esteem as Haj Amin Husseini, political and religious head of the Islamic forces in Palestine. Since the fall of the Sultan of Turkey, there has been no Caliph to unite the Mohammedan world; even the last Caliph was not accepted by all Islamic groups. Within the past few years, however, there have been recurrent move-

ments to re-establish the Caliphate; the name of Haj Amin Husseini has often been suggested as the most plausible leader to hold the 230,000,000 Moslem believers together.

There is little question but what the position which Haj Amin Husseini holds is a very ticklish one. Since the establishment of the British protectorate after the World War, the problems of Palestine have been numerous and the adjustments difficult. The three great monotheistic groups hold Palestine in reverence and look upon it as a great religious focal point. Political control where religious ambitions are in such conflict is harrowing and difficult. The influx of the thousands of Jewish immigrants has intensified old suspicions and distrusts. The armed conflict in August, 1929 is but one expression of the complex racial and religious antagonism involved. As the leader of practically three-fourths of the Palestine population, Haj Amin Husseini has been their champion in years of tremendous trial. There is no question but what his animosity toward the Jew has been intensified by numerous areas of political and religious conflict. He thinks the aims of the Jewish population are absolutely intolerable. He charges them with hypocrisy and dishonesty in setting up a theoretical objective of helping the native Arab population while actually trying to gain political and economic denomination of the country which the native Arab population cherishes as theirs by heritage of many centuries.

As far as religion itself is concerned, he speaks of three stages of development. The first is that of creeds, and he considers Judaism the chief representative of this stage. The second is that of doctrine plus humanitarianism; Christianity is here the example. The third stage is that of doctrine and humanitarianism plus tolerance and here he believes Islam surpasses all other faiths. He cites as partial evidence for this belief the reverence which Moslem has for the great prophets of Judaism and Christianity in addition to Mohammed.

Cooperation between all religious groups is the great social ideal, he says, but this can be realized only as prejudice is eradicated through tolerance and understanding. Islam stands with a

ready hand to cooperate whenever other religious groups relinquish their political ambitions and religious bigotry in the interest of broader human sympathy and understanding.

The quotation from the Koran which Haj Amin Husseini contributes is evidence of his strong feeling that action is far superior to doctrinal statement and that the new world outlook can alone be through cooperative ethical achievement.

"Said Allah (may He be high) in the holy Koran: 'O men, surely we have created you of a male and female, and we have made you nations and tribes that you may become acquainted. Certainly the most pious of you is the most honorable with Allah. For Allah is Omniscient.'

"And said Mohammed the prophet (may he be blessed and greeted): 'All human beings are Allah's people. So the most beloved of them by Him are the most useful to his people'."

WORLD FEDERATION—FURTHER COMMENT

by

OSCAR NEWFANG
Author of "The United States of the World," etc.

The Editor of *World Unity* has asked me to comment on the replies received in response to the magazine's request for expression of opinion regarding my article on *World Federation* in the December number of the magazine. I will briefly discuss each of the replies published in the February and March numbers and then offer a few remarks applying to all of the letters and to the problem of world federation generally.

DENYS P. MYERS
Research Dept., World Peace Foundation

Mr. Myers approves of the general idea of a closer federation of nations, but says that the development of the League of Nations must come step by step, by substituting a feature here and there, as the time is opportune, for existing features of the League. That was not the way the American Federation came in 1787 out of the Confederation of 1777. We built an entirely new house, while still occupying the old, and when the new was fully completed, we moved over into it once and for all. The difficulty of this step by step method arises from the fact that all three functions of a federation, the legislative, the judicial and executive, are closely interdependent and must be developed together.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL
Secretary, American Peace Society

If Mr. Call had lived in Pennsylvania in 1787, he would doubtless have said that he did not believe in any plan for the promotion of peace among the states that contemplated a federal "executive with military power superior to that of any state or group of states." He gives no reason for his disbelief: *ipse dixit.*

PHILIP C. NASH

Director, The League of Nations Association, New York City

Mr. Nash, a good friend of mine, while expressing the view that "the world will eventually come to a federation of nations," still feels that we should not look further ahead at present than the effort to induce the United States to enter the League of Nations, because he thinks a world federation could not be achieved "within the next generation." In planning for world peace we must think in centuries, not in decades or generations. When a vast enterprise, like the construction of the Panama Canal, is undertaken, the whole project must be planned before the work begins. When a railroad is to be built across a continent, the whole line must be surveyed beforehand. The engineers do not simply build in a general westerly direction and trust to luck that they will strike the Rockies at a point where they can be surmounted, and that they will thus be able to reach their destination on the Pacific.

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

Chairman, Social Justice Committee, Rabbinical Assembly of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America

This reply agrees entirely with the original article, and merely adds the suggestion that the Kellogg Pact should outlaw not only wars of aggression, but all wars whatever. A federation of nations with a compulsory court and an adequate force would in itself guarantee just this result, just as a strong metropolitan police force outlaws and forbids all violence, aggressive or otherwise, and compels the disputants to submit to court decisions. There would, however, always be a permission for bona-fide self-defense, pending the arrival of the League police force, as there is the permission of bona-fide self-defense against a robber or a murderer, pending the arrival of the metropolitan police force.

SIDNEY L. GULICK

Secretary, Commission on Industrial Justice and Good-will of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

Mr. Gulick contends that a federation of nations will come piece-meal, by adopting portions of the scheme as they are suggested by concrete issues arising. The objection to this is, that the

various functions of a world federation are interlocking and interdependent. World economic unity and the removal of tariffs cannot be achieved without a world political unity to guarantee the security of states. An international police force cannot be established without also establishing a world representative body under whose control the force is to be placed. A compulsory world court cannot be established without also establishing a world legislature to make the laws upon which the court will adjudicate. You cannot build one wall of a building without at the same time building the other three. It will not stand alone.

ALVA W. TAYLOR
Editor, Social Trends

Mr. Taylor, while believing in the principle of world federation, states that the great nations think in terms of "money, numbers and power," rather than in terms of equal sovereignty. A world federation would take into account, in one chamber of its representative body, the money, numbers and power of the various states, while still retaining the principle of international law, the equality of all nations, great or small, by an equal representation in the other chamber.

DAVID M. EDWARDS
Executive Secretary, Indiana Council of International Relations

Mr. Edwards entirely agrees with the December article.

CARL A. ROSS
Author, World Citizenship

Mr. Ross agrees so thoroughly with the December article, that he proceeds to deal with the methods by which a world federation might be established. He contends that there exists no authority to suggest or consider world federation. It would be within the province of the League of Nations Assembly to appoint a committee to consider the problem of world federation under Article III of the Covenant. Mr. Ross' objective of a "world convention of accredited delegates to draft the constitution" for world federation can be legally achieved by the League Assembly.

BRUNO LASKER
The Inquiry, New York City

Mr. Lasker states that "just as the national state was the natural consequence of the need for defense against a tyrannical exercise of local powers, so an international federation of some kind must eventually arise to protect the masses against the exercise of national powers in the interests of limited classes." And, "where the real differences in the interests of regions or provinces joined together in a state are not sufficiently safe-guarded by constitutional provisions," the union cannot be effective. He therefore thinks that there must be an intermediate stage of regional federations before a world federation can be established. This is along the lines advocated by Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, who is in favor of five "political continents," Pan-Europe, Pan-America, The British Empire, Russia and the Far East. I have discussed this proposal for intermediate federations in my work, *The United States of the World.* Space does not permit a repetition of the discussion here. Mr. Lasker also suggests that there should be an economic representation in addition to the purely political representation in the legislature of the world federation. Neither of these plans would militate against a world federation, but would simply concern details in its organization.

ALICE WILSON
World League of International Educational Associations

She favors world federation, but considers the time not yet ripe. The failure to establish economic unity in Europe, mentioned by her, was largely due to the fact that you cannot have economic unity without having at the same time political unity. Hence all parts of a world federation must be planned and adopted simultaneously. She contends that all world problems must be solved before developing the League of Nations into a Federation of Nations, but they can be solved only in a world federation.

JOHN NELSON
Honorary Secretary, Canadian Institute of International Relations

Mr. Nelson admits the inability of the League to stabilize

conditions within each member state. "That situation will continue to be a grave and seemingly insoluble problem with the League, as at present constituted."

He denies the analogy between a national federation and world federation. He claims that the analogy does not hold, because all national federations except Switzerland and South Africa are composed of peoples with the same culture, the same tongue, and in the main, the same ethnic roots and background. How about Canada with its English and its French regions? How about the large Scandinavian region in the American Northwest? How about the fundamental difference in culture between Bavarian and Prussian? That leaves only Australia as a homogeneous people. Yet the federal organization has worked in all of these countries.

The World Federation would have eventually a common educational system. As to language, the League even now has only two official languages for the whole world organization.

Mr. Nelson extols the International Rotary Clubs as the real method to achieve international harmony and world peace. World peace cannot rest only on the unorganized friendship of people of different nations. Did the International Rotary have any effect in preventing the World War? How could such an unorganized, unofficial body have any effect on the political action of organized society? I admit the need for good will. Without that no political organization will work. With *sufficient* good will almost any world organization can be made to function; but the better the organization, the less reliance must be placed upon the fickle element of good will, which can be changed to ill will and hate over night by clever demagogues and agitators. Mankind requires firmly established institutions to protect it against its own base passions and its own rash actions.

Mr. Nelson also mentions communism as a menace to world peace that would not be met by world federation. Political peace and economic peace are both necessary. World federation would meet the problem of political peace. Regarding the meeting of the menace of communism I have written in my work, Capital and

Communism. This is a large subject, and space does not permit its discussion here.

EDGAR J. FISHER
Dean, Robert College, Stamboul

Mr. Fisher admits the wisdom of world federation. He compares the United States of North America with the disunited states of South America. "What would be the situation if we had a federal United States of South America? Such quarrels would be peacefully settled by compulsory court decisions as has been done for generations in the United States of North America." "Every impetus that can be given to the extension of the federal principle, either through the League of Nations, or outside of the League, is on the basis of the experience of modern history, a step toward lasting peace." He need not have confined it to "modern history," but might have included the ancient Grecian federation of two thousand years ago.

GENERAL REMARKS

In a general review of all of these letters the principle criticism of the plan of a world federation to assure permanent international peace seems to be that, while some close, effective world organization must eventually be established, this is too far in the future to be worthy of serious consideration and planning at the present time. In answer to this criticism I would ask, supplementing my remarks to Mr. Nash's letter: What would you think of an architect planning the erection of a sky-scraper who should say: "There is no use bothering about the upper stories and the tower now. Let's first get the cellar excavated, lay the foundation, and build the first story; after that it will be soon enough to think about the superstructure and the tower"? Or, suppose a captain planning a voyage from Liverpool to New York should say: "We will just sail along in a general westerly direction. America is big: we will hit the coast somewhere, and then we can find out where we are and sail up or down the coast until we reach New York"? To ask these questions is to answer them. A large building must be plan-

ned throughout before the ground is turned; otherwise the architect will be apt to find that he has not laid a foundation strong enough to carry the superstructure. A ship captain must know clearly his entire course to New York before he leaves Liverpool; otherwise he wastes time and money and incurs needless dangers in the voyage.

The structure of permanent peace must be completely planned, or it may later be found that the foundation upon which it is built is not strong enough to bear the stress and strain of human passions and of economic forces. The voyage to the port of world peace must be completely charted before we set out, if we hope to arrive without the waste of many decades or even centuries of time, and without the danger of a shipwreck of the entire effort to achieve world peace.

One of the letters intimated that I had Japan in mind in certain of my remarks. Let us get down to these actual situations and see how they would have been met, if the League of Nations, instead of being merely a loose confederation, were a close, organic federation of nations.

What does Japan want in Manchuria? She wants three things. First, freedom for her citizens to travel, trade, reside and invest in Manchuria without discrimination or hindrance. If the League of Nations were a World Federation, all these rights would be *guaranteed* to her citizens by the power of the entire federation. Second, she wants security against the glacial seaward advance of huge Russia. If the League were an organic federation, Japan would be *guaranteed* that security, not by a mere promise like that of Article X of the Covenant, but by the whole military, naval and aerial power of the whole world federation. Third, Japan wants a stable government of law and order in China, and her conduct in Manchuria was primarily due to the lack of such a responsible government there. If the League were a world federation, China, as one of the states, would be guaranteed a sound, responsible government by the whole federation, just as the American constitution "guarantees a republican form of government in each of the

states" of the American federation, and "protects each of them against invasion and against domestic violence." (Art IV, Sec. 4).

Take another concrete case, the war in the Gran Chaco, which has been raging for many months. If the League of Nations, instead of bombarding the belligerent with billets doux, had been able to send a hundred or two hundred League aerial police in Vickers bombers, they would have had to drop only one curt note: "Stop fighting and submit your dispute to the World Court," and the war would have been over. Perhaps, after the World Court had given its decision as to the boundary, they might have had to make a second visit to plot the line on the spot: "There's your boundary. You will keep all armed forces at least twenty miles on either side of this line." That is the difference between an impotent, unarmed confederation and an organic federation with adequate legislative, judicial and executive power.

Limited space permits only one further general remark. Many persons may fear the establishment of a World Federation, because they feel that here would be just another body to lay heavy taxes upon mankind. Let them consider that in the United States (to mention one of the most lightly taxed countries) seventy cents of each tax dollar goes to pay for past wars and for preparation for future wars. Under a World Federation, it is true, there must be a general federal tax, but it certainly would be far less than the enormous war burdens now borne by men in every nation, not to speak of the crushing load of constant fear of war, of the wholesale bloodshed in warfare, and the endless anguish that rests upon the bereaved relatives and friends after each war.

If an engine is to be built to carry mankind to the goal of world peace, it must be powerful enough to move the load. An engine half strong enough will move nothing, will make no progress toward the goal. This world will never reach the goal of permanent peace and general welfare until it is brought there by a close organic World Federation organized for peace and based on the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

THE COMMON MESSAGE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT TEACHERS

by

HUGH MCCURDY WOODWARD
Department of Philosophy of Education, Brigham Young University

THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE EMANCIPATION AND GROWTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL

THE human soul in its search for "the good life" in all ages and in all countries has encountered the central question of this chapter: What part does knowledge play in the individual's self-realization, in the building of the life most worth while? Some have made it synonymous with the good life. With these, knowledge is power: a man lives just to the extent that he knows.

During the seventeenth century in Europe and the early part of the eighteenth century, reason was enthroned as the only possible way of adjusting to life problems. Such men as John Locke, David Hume, and Thomas Hobbes, have worshipped the "Goddess Reason" expecting her to bring about a Utopia. During this time, however, there was another voice declaring, "I will have none of it." It was Jean Jacques Rousseau. It was this same Rousseau who said: "I venture to declare that a state of reflection is contrary to nature; and that a thinking man is a depraved animal." Rousseau taught that it would be better to abandon the over rapid development of the intellect and to aim at training the heart and the affections. To him instinct and intuition were more trustworthy than reason.

Voltaire, a strange mixture of reason and emotion, was not so sure. He pictures a Brahmin who had been studying for forty years and who thought the time lost, because he had not been able

to solve the problem of his own soul. Because of this, the Brahmin wished he had never been born. The same day the Brahmin asked his neighbor, a happy old body, if "she had never been unhappy for not understanding how her soul was made." She did not even comprehend his question. She had never had a moment's thought of the problems with which the Brahmin had troubled himself. This old lady lived by perfect faith in Vishnu and in the saving grace of the sacred Ganges water. The Brahmin finally remarked: "I should be happy if I were but as ignorant as my old neighbor; and yet," said he, "it is a happiness which I do not desire." In this last statement we find the key which may unlock the answer to our question: What is the place of knowledge in the self-realization of the individual?

We live most of our life before we explain it. On the other hand, we live much of it only after we have realized the principles upon which it is founded. That is, we discover much new life by a knowledge of the laws upon which it depends. Life may be good even though it is not understood, but it is not the kind of life which satisfies the human soul. Neither is it the whole of life. It represents but a small fraction of a life possible to the individual. The child enjoys much life by simply responding in automatic play. But this kind of life will never develop a scientist, a statesman, or a philosopher. When the naturalist talks of his "back to nature" where man's instinctive tendencies can exert themselves, he is thinking of a very primitive type of development. "Nature produces man but man working with nature produces a master." It is in the last part of the process where conscious, definite knowledge plays its part in the evolution of the individual. With this knowledge which constitutes an awareness of the laws of nature and the relationship between man's best development and those laws, man progressively adjusts himself to the larger forces of the universe.

The doctrine of unity, which is the key to the great philosophies under discussion, presupposes that life becomes safe just in proportion as it comes to harmonize with the larger forces in

nature, with the final condition represented in a union of the individual's will and conduct with the will and purposes of the Great Universal Intelligence. Jesus said: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and its righteousness and all things will be added unto you." The Nirvana of Buddhism represents a perfect harmony between the individual's will and the will of God. With Lao Tze when man finds Tao he has become at one with that which is its own spontaneity.

In a description of life by Confucius we see the little rivulets of life running into the larger streams, which run into the great silent currents that constitute the unifying forces of all nature. In the world of nature we see thousands of forms of life, some running with the rivulets and streams and finally into the great silent currents, others are running away at right angles and in opposite directions. Those which move with the currents are saved, while those which move in the opposite direction are lost by the wayside. These rivulets, streams and currents represent the uniformities of nature. They constitute the great system of principles and laws in accordance with which the universe moves.

When we reach the estate of man we find a flow of life which has become conscious of its own direction and capable of becoming conscious of the direction of the greater streams and currents of life, and also conscious of the fact that it can direct itself and bring itself in line with those larger currents. It is at this point that the definite knowledge of the laws of nature becomes a vital necessity in the evolution of the individual. As expressed in the quotation above from Mr. Richardson, nature moving along apparently in her automatic way produces a man but man must add his individual impulse to nature to produce a master. To do this requires knowledge of when and how best to exert the individual effort. Thus in the scheme of each of the great masters we find much emphasis upon knowledge.

Among the many religious systems of the world there is a marked difference in the stress laid upon knowledge as a factor in the progress and salvation, of the human soul.

Some systems, and some groups of individuals in nearly all systems, place so much stress on the saving power of faith that the importance of definite knowledge is pushed into the background. *This unbalanced emphasis upon faith and knowledge is due largely to the fact that it is easier to believe than it is to acquire knowledge.* The acquisition of knowledge usually requires much definite effort and often hard and laborious work. Another cause for this uneven emphasis is due to the failure of so many to realize that the law of individual effort is the law of progress. Many work on the assumption that faith alone will somehow bring to them the required development, that by some magical trick they will be changed in the twinkling of an eye from a believing ignorant individual to one possessed of knowledge and insight.

In the lower systems of religion such as animism and paganism, definite knowledge does not count for much. Man is subject to the whims and motives of capricious and unreliable forces. The need of definite knowledge is greater as man becomes conscious of a reign of law in nature. As the individual becomes aware that progress and salvation mean to be in line with the great constructive and dependable laws of nature, a knowledge of these laws becomes imperative.

So long as man's destiny is determined by his ability to appease jealous, revengeful and capricious gods, life is largely a game of chance. With such concepts however, as the dependability of nature through a reign of law, and the justice of God because of the order and uniformity in His life, it is reasonable to conclude that man is saved just as far as he knows the law and adjusts to it. Hence in all the great spiritual religions the importance of definite knowledge comes to be one of the first considerations in the progress and salvation of man.

The Hindu philosophy lays such stress upon knowledge as an essential factor in progress that in some of the literature it is difficult to distinguish knowledge from the essential self, or soul. "Knowledge is Brahman, the soul is Brahman, thou art that I am Brahman." One of the great Upanishad prayers reads as follows:

"From the unreal lead us to the real, from darkness lead us to light, from death lead us to immortality." Hinduism teaches that "Concentration furnishes a good plan for the enlightenment of the human soul. This is the power by which men constantly see into things and search out the truths which are really important."

While knowledge is not sufficient for salvation and while it realizes itself only in good works, it is nevertheless not dependent wholly upon moral conduct. It is a matter of perception rather than application.

In his philosophy of the Upanishads, Mr. Radpakrishman says: "Moral conduct cannot contribute directly but only indirectly to the attainment of knowledge that brings emancipation. For this knowledge is not a becoming something which had no previous existence and might be brought about by appropriate means, but is is the perception of that which previously existed from all eternity." Thus while emancipation is not synonymous with knowledge, knowledge represents one of the vital factors in it.

In "The Story of Oriental Philosophy," L. Adams Beck, quoting from Hindu literature says: "The sacrifice which knowledge pays is better than great gifts, offered by wealth, since gift's worth, O my Prince, lies in the mind which gives." We are given to understand in the same reference that the results of knowledge are gained by reverence, by strong search, by humble heed of those who seek the truth and teach it. "Knowing truth, thy heart will no more ache with error, for the truth shall show all things subdued to thee, as thou to me."

The emphasis upon knowledge is even more pronounced in the teaching of Buddha. "Ignorance is the root cause of suffering, and the way to salvation therefrom lies through wisdom, insight. One's life is based on the real relations—the relation of the individual to himself as a human being and his relation to his fellowmen as members of a family, a citizen of his country, of the world, and indeed, of the whole universe. It is the purpose of education to explain and guide these two relations, so that man may achieve the highest and fullest development. The perfectioning of man con-

sists in the cultivation of all the three components of human nature —the emotional, the intellectual and the spiritual, so that there may be established an equilibrium, a harmony, between the moral impulses, the intellectual ideas, and the physical expression and impressions."

One of the three cardinal sins, according to Buddhism, is stupidity or dullness. A constant intellectual alertness is required. To achieve knowledge is the first step in the emancipation of the soul. Carus in his "Gospel of Buddha" quotes the following: "Great is the fruit, great is the advantage of earnest contemplation, when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great is the advantage of intellect, when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils of sensuality, selfishness, delusion, and ignorance. Free the mind of ignorance and be anxious to learn the truth, especially in the one thing that is needed, lest you fall a prey either to scepticism or to errors. Scepticism will make you indifferent and errors will lead you astray so that you shall not find the noble path that leads to life eternal."

Ignorance was, according to Guatama, the first factor in the misery of life, and stands first in the chain of causation in the direction of decay. It is not enough simply to know but one should also know when he does not know. "The fool," according to Buddha, "who knows his foolishness is wise at least so far; but the fool who thinks himself wise, he is a fool indeed."

BOOK NOTES

by

SMITH SIMPSON

The Society of Nations, by Felix Morley. Brookings Institution, 1932.

World Economic Social Planning. International Industrial Relations Institute. New York and The Hague. $2.50.

Bolshevism, Fascism and Capitalism, by G. S. Counts, Luigi Villari, M. C. Rorty, and Newton D. Baker. Yale University Press, 1932. $2.50.

All of these books are different and some one will ask why they are being reviewed together. It is because all deal with different aspects of the same problem of how we are going to place above all aims the aim of human welfare, and it seems well to remind writers on international affairs that when they are discussing one specialized aspect of a general problem they are not discussing the whole problem.

Of Mr. Morley's work I can speak highly. He leads a new way. When he crossed the Swiss frontier four years ago he crossed as the newly-appointed Geneva correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun,* so he did not see the League as most people do. He did not attend simply the stage presentations of the League, he saw the rehearsals; he idled back-stage; he gossiped in the Green Room; he followed the cheap talk and observed the cheap tricks of the actors before they went to the rostrum to deliver their great addresses to the great ethical sentiments of mankind. If anyone could analyze the Geneva institution and reproduce the diplomatic tip and tig behind scenes with its effect on the League's constitutional development, it ought to be such a man as this. And indeed under Mr. Morley's pen these things are shown; the League has finally emerged as a living institution; and one feels that a voice has at last become

audible and a note has been struck in League literature, more true, more thrilling, more capable of explaining and revealing the Geneva procedure than any one yet.

But after we know what the procedure of the League is and what are the trends of its constitutional development, we have yet to decide whether the procedure is right and whether the development is taking a healthy course. Into this question I cannot of course venture in such an article as this, except to say that in the present crisis the League has shown a fundamental weakness in attempting to pit its own prestige against the prestige of Japan. It has not said to Japan and China: "Sovereignty is not the important thing in this dispute. The important thing is the welfare of the people of Manchuria. Let's get together and see what can be worked out to the interests of you two, but with the welfare of these people always before us." Had this line been taken instead of the one that Japan as a corporate entity was an international culprit, the whole ground which has underlain Japanese argument would have been stricken away at the start and the evolution of the League would have taken an immeasurably far step toward that kind of world society which we all want to see. As it is, the whole controversy has become tangled in questions of statehood, national sovereignty, patriotism, and prestige.

Any literate person knows what a vast deal has been written on international relations in late years and any discriminating person knows how little of it has been in any way satisfactory. Think over the past works on the League, for instance. What do you find? The critical, systematic treatises are two or three, and most of the literature has been a piping of hope and faith, a mellow fluting, a cadenza of comment on one or two of the most favorable features of the institution. If writing has been uncritical it has been notable in still another way. Even when books, like Conwell-Evans's *The League Council in Action,* have attempted to be dispassionate and accurate, they have dealt not with most or all articles of the League but with one or two, and those have rather been the *enforcement* articles of the League than the *welfare* articles. The League has been

presumed, even by critical analysts, to be a League for States rather than a League for peoples.

The difficulties inherent in the development of international welfare functions are well represented in the second volume, which is a collection of the papers contributed to the World Social Economic Congress at Amsterdam in August 1931. The question at the bottom of everything is whether welfare, or economic, work can make use of national states or whether there are so many false notions and false sentiments clinging to the idea of statehood as to make them virtually useless. In this collection are discussions which certainly illuminate the question, though they do not solve it. There is only one suggestion I should like to make. The vice of every expert is to think he has the whole truth when he has a part of it. Take the lawyers, for example. A little while ago a great agitation stirred this country to secure American adhesion to the World Court and to "codify" international law. The way to get world unity, it was said, was to unify the world's laws. It was the idea of lawyers; it was bound to fail; and nobody but lawyers and misguided peace people could have entertained such a conceit. But economists, in discussing international affairs, make much the same mistake. In discussing ways and means they assume that the only thing people are interested in are economic things. As a matter of fact, at just this stage in international relations they are interested in other things as well; and when experts say that the really important things are not panics of feeling but panics of finance, not national estimates of national interests but real interests, not pride and prestige but variations in costs, in prices, in unemployment, they show a contempt for emotional factors which is quite unjustified and which cripples the real efficacy of their recommendations. The interests and feelings of people are not single but mingled and often conflicting, and when one speaks of welfare as the proper aim of the League he must acknowledge that there is great dispute in any particular case as to what welfare is, and that into that dispute enters a vast amount of psychological and racial, to say nothing of national, differences.

This, of course, is made clear by the third volume under review. Is the good of a people to be found in bolshevism, in fascism, or in capitalism? Even should a "welfare solution" of the Manchurian difficulty be ever possible after all this mess, what is the standard of welfare? What are the institutions to be encouraged? What are the functions of government to be developed? Are the Manchurian people to be trained and educated for a democracy of our sort, or for a democracy of the ideal soviet sort? Or are they to be trained to submit to a dictatorship? No one has ever written a book on the conflict of philosophies but I hazard the guess that books on the League which neglect this will become increasingly unimportant and superficial.

The collection of Williamstown lectures, which is the third volume, is in many ways a revealing collection. Professor Counts' paper is all that anyone could expect considering the limitations of space, and it is really classic. It is written with enthusiasm and intelligence. Dr. Villari's paper is a clear analysis of the historical development of the economic policies of Fascism and the institutions—the legally recognized syndicates, the collective labor contracts, the labor courts, the corporations and the Ministry of Corporations—through which those policies are expressed, directly and indirectly.

I never read a paper on capitalism by a capitalist without wondering why he was asked to write it. For while capitalists ought to know the most about their order of society they actually know the least, and if capitalism should collapse, and there is every possibility it shall, I have no doubt it will fall much more from the unintelligence of those who direct it than from the ability of its critics by their efforts to effect a change in system. Mr. Rorty, who contributed the paper on capitalism, is the vice-president of the I. T. & T. Most of what he says is utter nonsense. His contribution to world peace is this singular bit: "The vigilance committee of nations that fought the Great War cannot shirk, in the end, its further responsibility for the establishment of a new regime of international law and order." Most of what he has to say about the

advantages of capitalism is equally preposterous. Some one may ask: "But what *can* one say about capitalism?" I think more than Mr. Rorty has said.

Survey of American Foreign Relations, 1931. Prepared under the direction of Charles P. Howland. Yale University Press. $5.00.

It is needless to remark on the value of this annual. Everyone knows it. And every one reads its successive volumes with increasing pleasure. There are two things which ought to be remarked of this, however. It is the last volume edited by Charles P. Howland; and it gives admirable accounts of our Mexican relations and of the disarmament problem.

Of the first I hope I may be pardoned a personal note. I cannot say all that I should like to feel able to say for I met Mr. Howland only shortly before his death. The meeting I remember distinctly. It occurred in Woodstock, New York, where a group had assembled to discuss a large-scale project of research into Canadian-American relations. The business was transacted on a lawn, under trees, with the steep slopes of the Catskills rising at our backs and the Berkshires etched in faint lines of blue off to the south. Except for the younger members, there was no one there who did not have the most brilliant qualities. Yet I was impressed by Mr. Howland's. He had a love of scholarship which conveyed itself by an infectious enthusiasm. He had a sense of literary art and a personal friendliness of manner which added to the pleasure of his company. The climax of this meeting came a good while after lunch, when business had dwindled to a few desultory topics. Mr. Howland then happened to speak of a study into national psychology and its interplay in diplomacy which he hoped some one would some day write. He elaborated the work at length and under the spell of his brilliant enthusiasm and clarity of presentation everyone listened enthralled. A more scintillating piece of off-hand exegesis I think I have never heard. As these annuals will convey —for care and deliberation did not dull the genius of Mr. Howland —the loss of his unusual personality will be keenly felt.

The writing of the section on Mexican relations was done by Mr. Howland and Mr. Herbert Feis, who is now economic adviser to the State Department. It is excellently done. As much can be said, also, of the disarmament section. There is no subject on which so much trifling nonsense is written as on disarmament and none on which so much disillusionment is in store for the human race if the present method of attack is persisted in. One can only hope that writing like that of Mr. Wainhouse, who does the disarmament section, will penetrate those quarters where it is so much needed.

Interpretation, 1931 - 1932, *by Walter Lippman. Macmillan.* $2.50.

I have often wondered why as much has to be written on current problems as is written. Paradise has been lost and regained in volumes slight enough to be slipped into the pocket of a sack-coat, and you can still balance Aristotle on a drug-store counter and digest much of the meaning of politics with a soda and sandwich. Why do we have to have such large newspapers and such endless columns on everyday questions that do not in the end count for much? No one has ever explained that. I shall not try. The question only occurs to me now because Mr. Lippman's method of dealing with current affairs is so different from that of the usual journalist. He achieves an enviable condensation of thought. There is a Baconian conciseness in his style. He says much of what there is to say in the shortest possible fashion.

This volume consists of articles of Mr. Lippman in the *Herald-Tribune,* selected by Allan Nevins. They range from the depression at home to politics abroad; from the plundering of Tammany to the chaos of Manchuria; from the two party conventions to the social implications of the Lindbergh tragedy. Universal recognition of Mr. Lippman's genius is all the reason any publisher needs for presenting these writings in permanent form.

NOTES ON THE PRESENT ISSUE.

Frank Walser, an English educator now teaching in the United States, in his article "In Quarantine Before a New World," gives due emphasis to the psychological and spiritual factors which have served to make the present depression so bewildering. His article "What is Peace Education?" published in July 1932, revealed a firm grasp of the need to found peace upon a higher outlook.

It is gratifying to record that the series entitled "World Log of a Sociologist" by Herbert A. Miller, published in *World Unity* from November, 1930 to July, 1931, has recently been issued in book form, revised and with valuable new material, by the F. A. Stokes Company. The book title is "The Beginnings of Tomorrow." Dr. Miller is a man of distinction and vision. His book is commended to *World Unity* readers.

Canon Townshend has found it possible to interpret in verse a profound and inextinguishable assurance of the human heart. He is a pioneer of that greater race of poets who will arise to sound the epic note of this inspiring age, when the soul of man, and not the city of Troy, is the end of all mighty adventure.

As Dr. Miller pointed out in a public conference some years ago, national boundaries are not recognized by the invading hosts of destructive germs. Mr. Maurice C. Hall contributes to the symposium by scientists and engineers an account of efforts so far made to set up international control of parasites—one more rung on the long ladder up which we are climbing to world order.

Destiny has given to Dr. Rawlinson's series on "China's Changing Culture" an overwhelming relevancy at this time. Readers of *World Unity* have in these articles the sum total of the experience in China of a notably intelligent and sympathetic observer. The concluding chapter will be published next month.

World Unity is proud of the special service it has rendered since 1927 in the publication of material on the Orient. The editor will on request be happy to supply to students of the Orient a bibliography of the many serial and special articles the magazine has published during the past five and one half years.

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